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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS, M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA VIVAS CASTILLO.

Plaintiffs,

V.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF
DAVID CARD IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFF' MOTION TO
POSTPONE EFFECTIVE DATE OF
AGENCY ACTION**

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EXPERT DECLARATION OF DAVID CARD

1. I, David Card, am a Professor of the Graduate School and Class of 1950 Professor Emeritus at the University of California Berkeley. If called to testify, I could and would do so as follows:

2. I have been asked to provide an expert opinion on the economic impact of the potential termination of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Venezuela. I make this declaration based on my personal and professional knowledge, my skill, experience, training, and education, and facts and data regularly relied upon in my field that are currently available to me. If additional information becomes available, or if I believe it would be appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary theories, I will advise Plaintiffs' counsel that I intend to do so and will seek their help in following the appropriate judicial procedures. The opinions in this declaration are my own and I provided them *pro bono*.

I. Professional Background and Qualifications

3. I earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics from Queen's University in 1978 and a Ph.D. in Economics from Princeton University in 1983. I was an Assistant Professor at the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business from 1982 to 1983. From 1983 to 1997, I held positions as Assistant Professor and Professor of Economics at Princeton University. From 1997 to 2023, I was Class of 1950 Professor of Economics at University of California Berkeley. Since 2024 I have been a Professor of the Graduate School and Class of 1950 Professor Emeritus at the University of California Berkeley.

4. I have published over 140 articles and book chapters, co-authored two books, and co-edited seven others, including two editions of the *Handbook of Labor Economics*. I served as co-editor of the journal *Econometrica* from 1993 to 1997, and of the *American Economic Review* from 2002 to 2005. I served as the President of the American Economic Association in 2021.

5. I have received several awards and prizes for my research in labor economics, including election as a Fellow of the National Academy of Science, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Econometric Society and the Society of Labor Economics. In 1995, I received the John Bates Clark Prize, which was awarded by the American Economic Association to an outstanding economist under the age of 40. In 2006 I was awarded the IZA Prize by the Institute for the Study of Labor in Bonn for

1 outstanding academic achievement in the field of labor economics. I was co-recipient of the 2015
 2 BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in economics, and received the 2019 Jacob Mincer
 3 Award from the Society of Labor Economists for my contributions to the field of Labor Economics.

4 6. In 2021, I was the recipient of one-half of the Nobel Prize for Economics (the Sveriges
 5 Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel) for my “methodological
 6 contributions to the analysis of causal relationships” in labor markets.

7 7. My research focuses on statistical analysis of labor markets and related data. Many of
 8 my research studies focus specifically on issues related to immigration, including the effects of
 9 immigrants on the labor market opportunities of natives, and analysis of the earnings outcomes of
 10 immigrants in their host country.

11 8. Appendix A is a true and correct copy of my complete curriculum vitae.

12 **II. Summary of Conclusions**

13 9. Based on my understanding of the extensive economics literature on issues related to
 14 immigration, and my analysis of data pertaining to the characteristics of people interviewed in the
 15 2023 American Community Survey (ACS) who were born in Venezuela and moved to the United
 16 States at some time in the past, I have reached a series of conclusions about the potential termination
 17 of TPS for Venezuelans:

18 i) The estimated population affected by this potential action includes approximately
 19 366,000 people from Venezuela who arrived in the U.S. between 2021 and 2023. In
 20 calculating this number I have adjusted the population weights in the public use sample
 21 of the 2023 ACS to reflect the revisions in the estimated counts of immigrants arriving
 22 to the U.S. between 2021 and 2023 reported in a December 2024 memo by the U.S.
 23 Census Bureau.¹ Focusing on this group alone, there were approximately 195,000
 24 people age 16 and over who had earnings in the United States in the year before they
 25 were interviewed in the ACS. Their average earnings were \$17,981 per person.

26 1 “Census Bureau Improves Methodology to Better Estimate Increase in Net International
 27 Migration,” (Dec. 19, 2024), <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2024/12/international-migration-population-estimates.html>. I assume weights for
 28 arrivals in 2021 are inflated by a factor of 1.3475, weights for arrivals in 2022 are inflated by a factor of 1.856, and weights for arrivals in 2023 are inflated by a factor of 2.107.

1 **Termination of their TPS status would result in an estimated 3.5 billion dollar**
 2 **annual loss to the U.S. economy, and an annual loss of 434.8 million dollars in**
 3 **Social Security taxes.**

4
 5 ii) In addition to the group of Venezuelans who arrived in the U.S. between 2021 and
 6 2023, there are approximately 320,000 additional Venezuelans who were present in the
 7 U.S. in 2023 and arrived between 2013 (the year that Nicolás Maduro assumed power
 8 in Venezuela) and 2020. This includes approximately 230,000 people age 16 and over
 9 who had earnings in the United States in the year before they were interviewed in the
 10 ACS. Their average earnings were \$37,161 per person. Assuming a fraction x of this
 11 group would lose TPS status as a result of the proposed termination, there would be an
 12 estimated $8.55x$ billion dollars annual loss to the U.S. economy, and an annual loss of
 13 $1.06x$ billion dollars in Social Security taxes.

14
 15 iii) The approximately 366,000 people who were born in Venezuela and arrived in the
 16 U.S. between 2021 and 2023 are spread across the United States. The following table
 17 shows the states where at least 3% of this group were living when they were
 18 interviewed in the ACS, and the percent of the group living in each of these states:

Florida	34.7%
Texas	19.5%
New York	6.2%
Illinois	4.4%
Georgia	4.1%
Utah	3.7%
California	3.0%

26 This distribution implies that the economic losses associated with the termination of
 27 TPS would be spread relatively widely across the United States.
 28

1 iv) The level of education among the people who were born in Venezuela and arrived
2 in the U.S. between 2021 and 2023 is relatively high. Using the conventional approach
3 of measuring completed education only for people who are at least 24 years of age, the
4 fraction who have a bachelor's degree or more is over 40%, slightly higher than the
5 36% rate among people age 24 or older interviewed in the 2023 ACS who were born
6 in the U.S. The fraction of Venezuelans who arrived between 2013 and 2020 with a
7 bachelor's degree or more is even higher at 54%. These relative levels of education
8 are important because in standard economic models the key factor that determines the
9 labor market impacts of an immigrant group is their education distribution relative to
10 the native-born population. (See e.g., Card, 2009 and Card, 2012). In a standard
11 economic model in which firms can adjust the amount of capital they use, if immigrants
12 have about the same education as natives then their arrival would not be expected to
13 have a permanent effect on the wages or employment rates of natives. In other words,
14 the set of Venezuelans currently granted TPS does not pose a significant threat to the
15 labor market opportunities of native workers.

16
17 v) When they first arrive in the host country, immigrants typically face barriers,
18 including language issues, lack of recognition of their skills and credentials, and
19 unfamiliarity with the host labor market that lead to some “downgrading” in the quality
20 of jobs they can obtain. (Dustmann et al., 2016). The economics literature contains
21 many studies documenting that over time these problems are largely resolved, leading
22 to a process referred to as “economic assimilation.” (Chiswick, 1978; Duleep, 2015).
23 Comparisons between the earnings of Venezuelans who arrived at different times to
24 the U.S. suggests that the fraction who are working rises over the first 5 years in the
25 U.S., and their wage rate per hour of work also rises steadily. The rate of hourly wage
26 growth per year in the U.S. among Venezuelans who arrived between 2013 and 2020
27 is 3.8 percent per year. Assuming the same wage growth for those who arrived between
28 2021 and 2023, their earnings would rise approximately 45% over the next 10 years if

1 their TPS status was maintained, even ignoring any increase in the probability of
 2 working. This means that the economic losses caused by the termination of TPS are
 3 approximately 22.5%² larger than are calculated when we assume, as I did in paragraph
 4 i. above, that Venezuelan TPS holders will have the same average earnings per year.

5

6 vi) Venezuelans who arrived in the U.S. between 2021 and 2023 and were age 16 or
 7 older at the time of the ACS interview received an average of \$56.9 in public assistance
 8 payments over the previous 12 months. On average, over 96% of their personal income
 9 was attributable to their own earnings. Again, comparisons with the group of
 10 Venezuelans who arrived somewhat earlier (2013-2020) suggest that the relatively
 11 modest public assistance benefits they currently receive would fall further with more
 12 time in the U.S., if TPS were not terminated.

13

14 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
 15 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

16

17 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in Berkeley, California.

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 /s/ David Card

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² Earnings would grow steadily, and on average over all years the net effect of the growth is about one half of the final increase in wages (here, approximately 45%).

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APPENDIX A

Curriculum Vita - David Card
November 2024

Business Address: Department of Economics
530 Evans Hall #3880
University of California Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94720-3880
email: card@berkeley.edu

Citizenship: U.S. and Canada

Current Position: Professor of the Graduate School, UC Berkeley
Class of 1950 Professor Emeritus, UC Berkeley

Previous Positions: Assistant Professor of Business Economics
University of Chicago, 1982-83

Assistant Professor of Economics
Princeton University, 1983-87

Professor of Economics
Princeton University, 1987-1997

Class of 1950 Professor
UC Berkeley, 1997-2023

Visiting Professor of Economics
Columbia University, 1990-91

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in
Behavioral Sciences, 1996-97

Visiting Professor of Economics
Princeton University, 2000-2001

Visiting Professor of Economics
Harvard University, 2008

Director of Labor Studies Program
National Bureau of Economic Research, 2008-2017

Founding Director, Center for Labor Economics, UC Berkeley
1997-2022

Education: Queen's University (Kingston), B.A. 1978
Princeton University, Ph.D. 1983

Editorial Positions:	Co-editor American Economic Review , 2002 - 2005. Co-editor Econometrica , 1993-97 Associate Editor Journal of Labor Economics 1988-92
Editorial Boards:	Journal of Population Economics , 2001-2021 AEJ: Applied Economics , 2007-2019 Quarterly Journal of Economics , 2008-2020
Awards and Prizes:	Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics, 2021 Fellow, National Academy of Science, 2021 Research Award, National Institute for Health Care Management (for 2023 paper in Am. Econ. Rev. with David Chan and Lowell Taylor) Douglas Purvis Memorial Prize, 2020 (also 1994) J. K. Galbraith Award, American Association of Agricultural Economists, 2019 Jacob Mincer Award, Society of Labor Economists, 2019 BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award, 2015 J.K. Galbraith Fellow, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 2013 Frisch Medal, 2007 (for 2005 paper in Econometrica with D. Hyslop) UC Berkeley Distinguished Service Award, 2007 IZA Prize in Labor Economics, 2006 Fellow, Society of Labor Economics, 2004 John Bates Clark Prize, American Economic Assoc., 1995 Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1998 Fellow of the Econometric Society, 1992 Prince of Wales Prize, Queen's University, 1978
Honorary Degrees:	Honorary Doctorate, Ruhr University Bochum Germany, 2022 Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) University of Montreal, 2019 Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) University of Ottawa, 2017 Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) University of Guelph, 2015 Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) Queen's University (Kingston), 1999
Selected Lectures:	Inaugural Lecture, Pompeu Fabra University, October 2024. Alumni Lecture, College of Mexico, August 2024 Inaugural Lecture, Collegio Carlo Alberto, November 2022. American Economic Association Presidential Address, January 2022. Martin Meyerson Lecture, UC Berkeley, February 2020 Frank Anton Inaugural Distinguished Lecture, University of Calgary, 2017 Henry George Lecture, University of Scranton, 2016 Condliffe Lecture, University of Canterbury, June 2014 Arrow Lectures, Stanford University, May 2013 Lampman Lecture, University of Wisconsin Madison, May 2013

Woytinsky Lecture, University of Michigan, March 2012.
Snyder Lecture, UC Santa Barbara, April 2011.
Ely Lecture, American Economic Association, January 2009
Woodward Lecturer, University British Columbia, March 2008.
Dennis Sargan Lecture to Royal Economic Society, 2006.
Adam Smith Lecture to European Labor Economics Association, 2006.
Fisher-Schultz Lecture to Econometric Society, 2002.
Alfred Marshall Lecture, Cambridge University, 2000.

Advisory Boards:	National Academy of Science Committee on Nat. Statistics (2012-2015) “What Works Clearinghouse” Expert Panel Review (Chair), US Department of Education, October 2008. AEA Representative to US Census Advisory Committee, 1991-96 Statistics Canada Advisory Committee, 1990-2002 Advisory Council, ICPSR, 1994-96. Joint Center for Poverty Research, 1997-99 National Research Council Institute of Medicine Board on Children, Youth and Families, 1998-2001. RWI – Essen Advisory Board, 2005-2011. Comitato Scientifico Labor, Laboratorio R. Revelli, 2006-2009.
Selected Review Panels and Assignments:	National Institute of Health, Social Sciences, Nursing, Epidemiology, and Methods (SNEM) Review Panel, 1998-2003 Russell Sage Foundation Immigration Advisory Committee, 1999- 2001. Government of Spain Severo Ochoa Program (2014)
Professional Societies:	President of American Economic Association for 2021 President of Western Economics Association for 2015/2016 Vice President of American Economic Association for 2014 President of Society of Labor Economics for 2010/11 Elected member of the Council, Econometric Society, 2007-2012

Books:

(co-authored with Alan B. Krueger) *Myth and Measurement: The New Economics of the Minimum Wage*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995. Second Edition 2016. Spanish and Chinese editions 2022.

(co-authored with Alan B. Krueger; edited by Randall Akee and Klaus Zimmerman). *Wages, School Quality, and Employment Demand*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

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Essays in Honor of John E. DiNardo. Journal of Labor Economics 39 (Supplement 2) July 2021. (co-edited with David Lee and Thomas Lemieux).

Essays in Honor of Alan B. Krueger. Journal of Labor Economics 40 (Supplement 1), April 2022. (co-edited with Alexandre Mas).

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Models of Linked Employer-Employee Data. Journal of Econometrics 233(2) April 2023 (co-edited with Ian Schmutte and Lars Vilhuber).

Journal Articles and Chapters in Books:

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